1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12



claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Meñgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

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is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

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we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

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o-suuji, nebaíki ol-turwai 539*
the-coward, and-it-reaches (*or* and-perhaps) the-poltroon
neaku ol-oiñgōni.
and-he-becomes the-bull (*or* brave-man).

The slayer of the enemy has become a coward, and the poltroon has become a brave man.

['The last shall be first, and the first last.'—Matt. xx. 16.]

No. 5. Eitu-kidól ti-oreren en-gerr sambu.
We-have-not-seen amongst-peoples the-sheep many-coloured.

There is not such a thing in the world as a sheep of many colours.

[A sheep of two or even three colours is common enough, but one of more than three colours is unknown. This saying is used to express incredulity at an improbable story.]

No. 6. Ekwenikye 'n-gūk in-guruon.
They-laugh-at the-coals (*or* soot *or* charcoal) the ashes.

Coal laughs at ashes, not knowing that the same fate which has befallen them will befall it.

Also: Ekwenikye ol-chata ōtii
It-laughs-at the-firewood (*or* tree) which-is-there
ol-tiren ol-ōtii en-gima.
the-fireplace the-which-is-there the-fire.

The firewood which has been cut ready for burning laughs at that which is being consumed.

No. 7. Eñgárie o-sighiria en-daa.
He-eats-with the-ass the-food.

He eats his food like a donkey.

[This is said of a man who has not had the two middle incisors of the lower jaw extracted, and whose mouth in consequence is supposed to resemble a donkey's.] [304]

No. 8. Enyanyuk ol-oipotōki o ol-ōōuo
They-resemble the-who-was-called and the-who-came
eneny.
alone (*or* himself).

It is the same thing when a man is once there whether he has been called or whether he has come of his own free will.

No. 9. Epwo ōorioro anaa 'ng-ajijik
They-go they-separate-themselves like the-huts
oo-'l-oitigōshi.
of-the-zebra.

[Zebra of course have no huts. This saying is intended to imply, 'They are scattered over the face of the earth.']

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FL12 Masai FL12



Neishop ol-kila ōbo o e-musetai nabo te-'m-bolos anaa 'l-muran.

They wear one garment and a belt round their waists similar to the warriors. 291 554

Nemepik ninje 'ñgorōyok tōki 'm-bolosi enye, 'n-gitatin ake naañye 'l-kilani lenye too-'m-bolosi.

Women wear nothing round their waists except a broad belt with which they fasten their garments.

Neishop i-ñgorōyok il-kilani aare, ōbo ōji ol-okesena o likae ōji ol-lekishopo.

They also wear two cloths, one called ol-okesena, and the other ol-lekishopo.

Ore sii 'surutya, naa endōki kitok too-'l-Maasae, amu meitēu 'ñgorōyok aatuñgai 'surutya enye pesho ake ten eishu ol-móruo lenye.

Now with regard to the women's ear-rings, they are of great consequence amongst the Masai, for no woman ventures to leave them off during her husband's lifetime. 301 585 554

Naa, ten eitau e-ñgorōyōni 'surutya aigh eitobirita en-giaa, ore pe eniñgu ol-móruo lenye, nekwet aji alo apika 'surutya enyena, pe medol ol-móruo meata.

Were a woman to take off her ear-rings and hang them up while doing her work, she would run into her hut on hearing her husband approach, and put them on again, so that he should not see her without them.

Ore ten elo ol-móruo 'n-gwapi, nemeitēu e-ñgorōyōni enye aitau 'surutya, amu ten edol kulikae-móruak meata, nējo eiba ol-móruo lenye.

If a man goes away from home, his wife does not dare to take off her ear-rings, for were the other men to see her without them, they would tell her that her husband will hate her.

## 'Surutya o ol-masangus loo-'l-móruak oo 'n-gulye-tōkitin.

## The ear-rings and arm-rings of old men, and other matters. 301 554

'L-ayok oo 'n-doiye oopika 'n-gulalen. Epika 'l-muran oo 'l-móruak il-giso 'n-giyaa, neata

Boys and girls put blocks of wood into their ears, called 'n-gulalen[1], and warriors and old-men wear chain ear-

[1] These blocks are gradually increased in size as the lobe stretches. The proper length is attained if the lobes meet at the top of the head. Perhaps the largest Masai ear-ring in existence is one of stone weighing 2 lb. 14 oz., which the author recently presented to the British Museum.

[304]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12



loo-'l-Maasae, nebarni innaoloñg netupukuni, nèyeñgi ol-kerr araki ol-kiteñg ôji Ol-oitupukunieki.

Ore te-'ng-oloñg e-are nelo ôl-ayôni aduñgu en-jani naji El-latim; nepwo 'n-doiye aanapu, nêuni te-kutuk-aji.

Ore tadôkenya neipuñg ol-ayôni alo aton ti-aulo metaama en-gijape. Neisuja te-'ng-are áitushulaki em-þere e-papa.

Ore pe ekenyu naleñg, nebol ñgotonye o-'l-ayôni kiabômi, ne'ya ol-chôni apik en-daloishi e-tatêne.

Nelôtu ol-ayôni aton to-'l-chôni, nelôtu ol-Torôbôni ômurat oo 'l-tuñganak ooibuñg.

Ore ol-tuñgani oibuñg ol-ayôni ômurati eton aitório 'n-gejek, neton ol-syôni too-'rishat oo-'n-gejek, nemurati.

Ore ten eipiri ol-ayôni emuratitai, nêari ñgotonye too-'ñgudisin; naa ten eiyôlôu ñgotonye oo menye aajo eipírio en-gerai, nepwo áisudori.

Ore þ' eidipi aatumurat, the ceremony is started by his being shaved, after which a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, which is called The (animal) that has caused him to be taken out (from the boys' ranks). 881

On the second day the boy sallies forth to cut a tree called El-latim[1], which is carried by girls to the kraal, where it is planted at the door of the hut.

The next morning the boy goes and sits down outside the kraal to get cold. He also washes himself with water in which a fern called Father's spear[2] has been soaked. 881 304 [824]

When the sun is some way above the horizon, his mother opens the gate of the kraal, and fetches an ox-hide which she puts on the ground by the right-hand door-post.

The boy then takes his place on the hide, and the operator, a Dorobo, comes together with the men whose duty it is to hold the boy.

The man who holds him straightens out his legs, and the boy sits between them and is circumcised[3].

If the boy winces during the operation, his mother is beaten with sticks; and if the boy's parents know that he will behave like a coward, they go away and hide themselves.

As soon as the operation is over, the

[1] This tree is generally called Ol-oilalei (*Zizyphus mucronata*, Willd.), but it is called El-latim during the circumcision festivities.

[2] *Asparagus sp.*

[3] The circumcision of the Masai has been described in Thomson's *Through Masailand*, in Johnston's *The Uganda Protectorate*, and in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society for Great Britain and Ireland*, June, 1904 (Bagge). [113]

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FL12 Masai FL12



881 [304] nenapi ol-chōní etii o-sarge, nepiki e-ruat enye.

Ore ten eidipi aatumurat il-ayok, nēji 'Sipōlio.

Netoni 'ng-oloñgi oñgwan ti-añg, neitobirakīni 'ng-ai.

Ore 'm-baa enye nepetyeki 'ng-orongōni pe, ten eñgórie 'n-doiye, nemeim i-seseni.

[223] Neishori meshōmo aalilita, neñgor in-daritik aapik il-lughuny; nepik sii 'l-ōpir.

Enyori naleñg I-sipōlio eitobir anaa 'ñgorōyok aapik i-surutya oo 'l-kilani. Nesir sii 'ng-omomite te-'n-duroto.

Ore p' eishiu pōkin, nebarni, neaku 'L-barnot. Ore p' eaku 'L-barnot, neitau 'l-kilani, neishop in-dōkitin oo-'l-muran.

561 Ore pe eshitu 'l-teighan, nēji 'L-muran.

Ore enyor il-muran naleñg ten ēji 'L-oiñgok araki 'N-gamínini, amu eishori meishopo 'n-dwalan araki 'l-torcñgen.

554 Ore ēji 'l-muran 'l-oiñgok ten eidim aataar il-meek kumok.

hide on which is the blood is carried by the boy and placed on his bed.

When the boys have all been circumcised they are called 'Sipolio (recluse).

They remain at home for four days, and bows are prepared for them.

They then sally forth and shoot at the young girls, their arrows being blocked with a piece of honey-comb so that they cannot penetrate into the girls' bodies.

They also shoot small birds[1], which they wear round their heads together with ostrich feathers.

The Sipolio like to appear as women and wear the surutya earrings and garments reaching to the ground. They also paint their faces with chalk.

When they have all recovered, they are shaved again and become Il-barnot (the shaved ones). They then discard the long garments and wear warriors' skins and ornaments.

After this their hair is allowed to grow, and as soon as it has grown long enough to plait, they are called Il-muran (warriors)[2].

The warriors are fond of the titles 'L-oingok (the bulls) and 'N-gaminini (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called il-torongen.

Now to become one of the Oingok, a warrior must kill many savages,

[136] [1] The bird which the Sipolio wear round their heads is the mouse bird (*Colius affinis*, Shelley). Boys who behaved in a cowardly manner during the operation are not allowed to shoot these birds.

[2] This word is commonly but incorrectly written Elmoran.

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FL12 Masai FL12



Ore ăji 'N-gaminĭni ten ăyeñg il-moñgi, neisho 'l-kulikae 'n-giri.

whilst the Gaminini are chosen if they frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades.

## E-murata oo-'n-doiye.

Ten eiyōuni neiyami 'n-doiye oo-'l-Maasae, nemurati.

Ore eng-oloñg namurati, nāyeñgi ol-kerr araki ol-kiteñg, ōji Ol-oitupukunieki, anaa too-'l-ayok.

Nemurati ninje ti-atwa aji. Naa, ten eishir, nemeata en-netiu.

Mepika ninje 'l-ōpir anaa 'l-ayok, ol-merisian ake epika.

Ore ten eishiu, neiyami.

## The girls' circumcision.

When Masai girls wish to marry, they are circumcised.

On the day that the operation is performed, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and as with the boys it is called The (animal) which has caused her to be taken out (from amongst the girls).

Women are operated upon indoors, and it is not considered a disgrace if they cry out.

Instead of the ostrich feathers which the boys wear, a wreath made from the leaves of the *Hyphaene* (or doum) palm, or of grass, is donned.

When they recover, they are married.

## E-unoto.

Ten eiyōu 'l-muran nēuni, nepwo aañgas áiñgoru Ol-aunōni, na ol-tuñgani ōata menye oo ñgotonye eiñgoru, neata 'n-gīshu, neitu ae-oloñg ĕar ol-tuñgani, nemedanya 'ng-onyek e-menye oo ñgotonye, nemeata 'ng-onyek pusi[2].

Ore pe etum, nemiliki;

## The feast called E-unoto *or* the selection of a chief[1].

If the warriors wish to select a chief, who is called Ol-aunoni, they choose a man whose parents are still living, who owns cattle and has never killed anybody, whose parents are not blind, and who himself has not a discoloured eye.

When they succeed in getting such

[1] A chief called Ol-aunōni is appointed for each sub-district. His duties are to keep the warriors of his sub-district together, and he is responsible to the chief medicine-man for their appearance in case of war. If a warrior disobeys the orders of his chief, he is flogged or maltreated by his companions.

[2] Pus (pl. pusi) means the colour of a corpse *or* blue.

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FL12 Masai FL12



964 en-gurara. Ore ten eim pôki-tuñgani inne, nepik o-seit, neikôni nêja too-'l-arin pôkin.

551 Ten êä eng-ayôni oo-'l-Maasae, ore p' elu ñgotonye ae-kerai, newaya en-giok e-[304] 'nna-kerai, nêji Nawaya.

Ore pe ebulu, nêji Ol-ôwara.

304 Teni mewayi en-gerai en-
301 giok, neishop en-daret o
858 ol-giso to-'l-kimôjino le-'n-geju.

Whenever anybody passes this spot he throws a stone on to the heap, and this is done for all time.

If a Masai woman gives birth to a boy after the death of one of her sons, a small piece is cut off the ear of the newly-born babe and he is called Nawaya, i.e. from whom it has been snatched.

When the child grows up his name is changed to Ol-owara, which has the same meaning.

Sometimes children's ears are not cut, in which case they wear a special kind of bracelet, called En-daret, and a ring on one of their toes[1].

## Em-buroto.

765 Ten êä ol-môruo loo-'l-Maasae ôata 'n-gera oo 'ñgorôyok, nepuroo ol-marei pôkin.

Neitau 'ñgorôyok i-surutya, oo 'seghenge oo-'murto, oo 'musetani; neitau sii 'n-doiye 'musetani, oo 'l-pisya, oo [302] 'seghenge oo-'n-gejek oo 'n-oo-'ng-aik; nebarn il-muran oo 'l-ayok il-papit.

Netoni 'ñgorôyok ol-ari ôbo, neitôki aishop in-dôkitin enya.

Naa, ten êä kulikae-tuñganak, neitau 'ñgorôyok o-'l-marei 'n-dôkitin naaata too-'murto, kake mme pôkin, epali-seghenge oo 'surutya; netoni ol-apa ôbo.
[302] Nebarn sii 'l-lewa 'l-lughuny.

## Mourning.

When a father of a family dies, the whole family mourns for him.

His widows lay aside their ear-rings, necklaces, and beads; his daughters leave off their chains, beads, armlets, and anklets; and his warrior sons and boys shave their heads.

His wives wait for a whole year before they put on their ornaments again.

If any other person dies, the women of the family leave off their small neck ornaments but not the iron rings or the ear-rings, and the men shave their heads. The mourning lasts for one month.

[1] The second toe of the right foot.

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Ten eboitare ol-móruo engerai enye araki en-o-'l-poror lenye, torono. Ten eniñg ol-poror lenye, nēari, negili eng-añg, nēyeñgi 'n-gīshu náiyōuni.

If an old man commits adultery with his daughter or with a girl of her age, it is considered a serious crime. The other old men if they hear of it beat him, pull down his kraal, and slaughter whichever of his cattle they want.

684
[561]

'M-bwat.

Nēji en-dōki naji em-bwata, naa 'l-ala aare eitauni li-abori.

The extraction of teeth.

There is something called em-bwata, which means the extracting of the two middle incisors of the lower jaw.

304
752

Neitauni te-'ng-alem.

A knife is used with which to perform the operation.

Eisho 'l-Maasae: nebwa 'ngera enye kat'-are. Ten eīni en-gerai, pe ebaya 'l-apaitin isyet, etubulutua 'l-ala pôkin, nebwai. Netonii.

The Masai extract their children's two middle teeth twice. They extract them first of all when the child is about eight months old, and all its teeth have grown. Then they wait.

Nepwo 'l-ala pôkin, neiñgwari 'l-opa-ootubulutua. Ore p' eitōki aabulu 'l-ala pôkin, nebaya en-gerai anaa en-oo-'l-arin tomon o aare, nebwai em-bwata e-kitoo, nemeitōki aabulu.

After the child has lost all its milk teeth and obtained the permanent set, i. e. when it is about twelve years old, the teeth are extracted a second time, and never grow again.

Ore p' eidip aatōbwa engerai, nesirieki eng-omom il-mur loo-'sirkon, nēji: 'I'rōbija.'

When a child has had its teeth extracted, donkey's dung is put on its face in order to cool it.

[237]

Ore opa p' eiteruaki aabwa 'l-tuñganak ēji, pe ten emweiyu ol-tuñgani, p' eitere, neony il-ala, neimyeki eng-are innabwata natōbwaki opa.

The origin of this custom of extracting teeth was to enable people, in the event of a man falling ill or being on the point of death, when his teeth would pain him, to pour water through the orifice [1].

[1] Hinde (*The Last of the Masai*, p. 42) writes: 'The origin of this custom is supposed to date back to a time when tetanus was a great scourge amongst the Masai, and they discovered that it was a comparatively simple matter to feed a man suffering from lockjaw if two of his front teeth were missing.'

[113]

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FL12 Masai FL12



304 752 Naa, ten eata opa 'l-tuñganak pôkin in-jilalo oo-'l-alale-keper mme ana'-'ata eiyĉuni naleñg im-bwat. Ore taata etamooki em-bwata.

Had people formerly extracted the upper teeth, they would not have required the hole in the lower jaw. But now they have become accustomed to the latter.

[626] Tenedol il-Maasae ol-tuñgani kemebwa, nekwenikye aajo: 'Eñgárie 'sirkon en-daa.'

When the Masai see a man who has not had the two middle incisors extracted, they laugh at him, and say: 'He eats his food like a donkey.'

## Em-barnore.

## Shaving.

302 Ebarn il-mŏruak oo' ñgorŏyok oo 'n-gera oo-'l-Maasae 'l-lughuny oo 'l-papit loo-'ng-onyek le-keper, neput il-papit loo-'ng-onyek li-abori ten eirugo pe erim eng-oñgu.

Masai elders, women[1], and children shave their heads and eyebrows, and pull out their eyelashes if they enter their eyes.

Neput araki nebarn sii 'l-munyo oo 'n-gitikit oo 'n-goleshi; nepej kulikae 'l-papit loo-'l-oreshets, nepal kulikae.

They also pull out or shave the hairs of the beard, armpits, and pubes, and some singe the hairs of their shins.

Teni mepuroo il-muran, nemebarn il-lughuny metabana [574] nĕuni, neitubulu 'l-taighan.

If warriors are not in mourning[2], they may not shave their heads until they have held the feast called e-unoto[3], and they grow pigtails.

Ore ten elu e-ñgorŏyĉuni en-gerai, nemebarn ninye o en-gerai enye metabana nebulu

When a woman gives birth to a child, neither she nor the child are shaved until the latter has four

[113] [177] [194] Sir H. Johnston, in commenting upon this, says (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 803): 'It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Nilotic stock, which was their origin; for amongst these people the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice.' Hinde's explanation, however, appears to be very widely spread.

[191] [1] This very uncommon practice for women to shave their heads is also followed by the Dinkas, Baris, and Latukas (Cummins, 'Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, June, 1904; and Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, p. 90, &c.).

[2] *Vide* p. 306.

[3] *Vide* p. 299.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12



3. Ol-morijo. Ninye oitaunyeki il-Torōbo e-saiyet oo-'m-baa, nainyaāgu 'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae.

3. *Acokanthera Schimperi* (Hochst.), Bth. and Hook. The Dorobo obtain poison for their arrows from this tree, and Masai elders purchase it from them. 824 [411] [439]

4. Ol-āgoswa. Ninye čudye 'l-Maasae 'n-gera 'n-giyaa. Neata sii e-manoo naji e-saate araki en-aiāgure nanyaali 'āgorōyok, nepejōkīni 'malasin naadanya.

4. *Balanites sp.* With the thorns of this tree the Masai pierce their children's ears. The sap, called gum or frankincense, is chewed by women, and is used for mending the gourds when they break. [412] [261]

5. Ol-āgeriandus. E-tii 'l-āgeriandusi oora 'mwain are, ol-ōpiki 'n-jashuri o ol-likae ōpejisho ten epiki 'seseni.

Ore illo ōpejisho na ninye enyor in-doiye epejye aate 'ng-omomite oo 'sederi p' eaku sidan; kake en-natonyora openy neiko nēja, mēarakīni.

Eiger sii 'n-doiye 'ng-oshua too-'l-kighareta araki eipir too-'n-gujit áitaman o-sararua, kake mepik tōki.

Neiko si nēja 'l-muran, kake 'me pōkin ooiko nēja, ol-oiyēu ake.

5. *Rubia cordifolia*, L., and *Plumbago zeylanica*, L. There are two plants called ol-ngeriandus, from one of which a dye is obtained which is used for colouring the sheaths red, whilst the other is used for tattooing. [386]

The latter kind is what girls like, and they tattoo themselves[1] with it on the forehead and the sides of the face to make themselves look beautiful; but it is only done by those who wish, it is not done by force. 304 [824]

Girls also scratch the skin off their bellies with thorns, or make incisions with grass round their navels, but they do not rub anything into these cuts.

Some warriors do this too, but only those who wish.

6. Ol-bughoi epik i-āgorōyok il-kilani pe enyoriju eton eāgejuko; eishori sii 'n-gishu naamwei ol-tikana.

6. *Terminalia sp.* The tannin of this tree is used by the women for curing skins with. It is also given to cattle when they are suffering from gall fever. 824 [281]

7. Ol-magirigirianie. Ninye epik il-Maasae 'm-benek oó 'l-

7. *Lantana salvifolia*, Jacq. The leaves and fruit of this plant are [302]

[1] An illustration of tattooing round a Masai woman's eyes is given in Sir H. H. Johnston's book, p. 804. A somewhat similar instance of tattooing amongst the Latukas is given in Baker's *The Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 216. [113]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12



monies are not performed by some selected individuals on behalf of others, as for *Embolosat* and *Endungore-Engibata*. Also from a territorial point of view all these ceremonies differ. A single performance of *Embolosat*, which opens the class-period, is valid for all Masailand; *Endungore-Engibata*, which opens the unit-period, is sectional; individual initiation is held at each village. The following diagram illustrates the correspondence.

A candidate's age for individual initiation is indicated by Fosbrooke as 16-17 years. The principle for admission to initiation seems to be that the candidate must have passed his puberty, and his father must have performed "the passing of the fence" as described above. [67]

Circumcision is the central point of Masai individual initiation. The ceremony is performed in three stages, *a*) a testing of the past moral behaviour of the candidate; *b*) the ordeal of circumcision; *c*) a period of special segregation.

*a*) On the eve of circumcision day the candidate is completely shaved by his mother. The elders are entertained with meat and beer [68] at the house of the candidate's mother. [69] Then the elders

[67] Cases may occur of boys who have to be initiated at an earlier age for some special reason. Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 28 records the instance of a father's orphan having to be initiated in his early puberty in order to inherit.

[68] Hollis, *l. c.*, p. 297, states that a bullock is slaughtered and called *el-oirupukinisk* — the (animal) that has caused him to be taken out of the boys' ranks. Fox says that a number (5, 6 or 9) of gourds of beer are offered to the elders.

[69] There is no special meaning in the use of the mother's house. The custom is occasioned by the arrangement of a Masai polygynic village. Every

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12



881 "ask the boy (candidate) various questions as to his past behaviour, and he is put on oath to answer truly".[29] Apparently no special ordeal such as we find among the Kipsigis is attached to this testing.

*b*) The operation may be performed "in the morning or the evening according to the particular custom of the family concerned" (Fox). Generally it takes place early in the morning. The operator [648] is said never to be a Masai. Generally he is a Dorobo, and sometimes a Kikuyu (Fox). This peculiarity is worth noting, especially if it is compared with the great care observed in selecting all other leaders or officers out of the pure Masai.[30]

881 304 Before the operation is performed, the candidates take a cold bath in order to make their body insensible, or remain "shivering in a state of nudity until the sun rises" (Baggoe).[31] Candidates are then operated upon, outside the village near the right-hand post of the gate. The patient must not betray any sign of suffering. That would disgrace him and all his family. A few elders assist and support the patient during the operation, and help him to his mother's house after the wound has been washed. Once inside he is given food (fresh blood) and a special beverage, called *esg alipata*, after which he is allowed to speak.

881 [591] The circumcised youth is presented by his mother's brother with new sandals, and henceforth he is not supposed to make use of any garment worn before the ceremony. A procession by four girls (cfr. Fox), waving branches takes place to the entrance of the [594] boy's hut. The elders are again entertained with meat and beer;

[595] wife of a man has her independent house where she lives with her children and cattle. But the whole homestead belongs to the father, and it would be quite correct, though not as precise, to say: the house of the candidate's father.

[29] We may assume that these questions are connected with the candidate's moral and sexual behaviour. Fosbrooke states that "prior to circumcision [834] no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to". The same custom is observed among the Nandi-speaking peoples.

[30] Cfr. the election of the *Oi Oi epolos* at the *Eunkolosat*; of the *ol osuai* boys, the *oiyeneusi*, and the *mojengrena* at the *Endungoro-Enpiloto*; of the *ol osuosi* at the *uasto*.

[31] Leakey states that it is "absolutely essential that the cattle shall be [231] in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony". No further details are given nor are reasons offered for this fact which is not mentioned by any of our Masai authorities. However, it shows that circumcision is not related to the cattle aspect of Masai culture.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12



produced that unpleasant setting of the teeth which belongs to him in common with the whole of his race. The gums being tender, and the beef tough and leathery, the teeth acquired an outward projection unpleasant to behold, and, what was still worse, they seemed to become separated from each other, till they appeared as isolated fangs. It was noticeable also that his gums were of a very dark blue colour. Neither of these characteristics, however, were any disad-

[301]
[304]

EAR STRETCHER AND EAR ORNAMENTS.

vantage to the young Masai, as in his country to be hideous is to be beautiful.

As a boy Moran—for such we may call him for convenience' sake—was pleasing in the extreme—when his mouth was shut. He was the very ideal of an imp, and for diabolical versatility would doubtless have made an admirable page, such as were so much in vogue in former times. At a very early age Moran broke away from his mother's apron-strings, and with miniature bow and arrow aped the bigger boys in their play. As he had no lions to kill, he only roused his mother's laughter if he turned up encrusted with filth. He

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12



was not even put through the horrors of the tub. Sometimes, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and imbued with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a smasher of skulls and a lifter of cattle, would make up an unctuous and odoriferous composition of grease and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of a boy proper. He was provided with a real bow and arrow. A square piece of sheep-skin was tied over the left shoulder, leaving the legs quite bare. He now began to cultivate, not a moustache, but his ear-lobes; that is to say, he took means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his shoulder, and he could nearly put his fist through the distended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick through the lobe, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first occupation. He had by this time acquired some notion of the geography of the country around, as his parents had not been stationary, having been compelled to move about from place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on these occasions conveyed their household gods, though his mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut after. He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from the plains to the highlands in the dry season and *vice versâ* in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geography his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion. He learned something of the mystery of the universe by hearing his elders continually howl out prayers by the hour together to some unseen Being called Ngâi (God, or the heavens). He heard also that the place of Ngâi was among the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of Donyo Ngâi (an active volcanic mountain) were His voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Morau at this period reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the where, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12



of bullocks. Reaching the kraal, our friend found himself among a large number of splendidly built young savages—indeed the most *magnificently modelled men conceivable*. And here let me for a moment pause in my story to indulge in a passing word of description.

There is, as a rule, not one of the El-moran under six feet (I am speaking of a superior clan). Their appearance, however, is not suggestive of great strength, and they show little of the knotted and brawny muscle characteristic of the ideal Hercules or typical athlete. The Apollo type is the more characteristic form, presenting a smoothness of outline which might be called almost effeminate. In most cases the nose is well raised and straight, frequently as good as any European's (though passing into the negro type in the lower class, such as Wa-kwafi). The lips also vary from the thin and well-formed down to the thick and everted. The eyes are bright, with the sclerotic whiter than is common in Africa. The slits are generally narrow, with a Mongolian upward slant. The jaws are rarely prognathous, while the hair is a cross between the European and the negro, rarely in piles, but evenly spread over the head. Hair is scarcely in any case seen on the face or any part of the body. The cheek-bones are in all remarkably prominent, and the head narrow both above and below. The teeth and gums of almost every one are such as I have already described, though I think I have neglected to mention that the two lower middle incisors are extracted. Tatooing is not practised; but every Masai is branded with five or six marks on the thigh.

Such are the main characteristics of the El-moran; but before we resume our narrative let us note a few facts about the young damsels—the Ditto—who are soon to be flirting with our hero.

Happily facts support the verdict of gallantry when I say that they are really the best-looking girls I have ever met with in Africa. They are distinctly ladylike in both manner and physique. Their figures are slender and well formed, without the abnormal development about the hips characteristic of the negro. They share, like the men, the dark gums, and the bad sets of teeth. The hair is shaved off totally, leaving a shiny scalp. As to dress, they are very decent, and almost classical, if a stinking greasy hide can have anything to do with things classical. They wear a dressed bullock's hide from which the hair has been scraped. This is tied over the left shoulder, passing under the right

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12



ceived from the traders, he, of course, did not keep himself, but divided among his sweethearts of the kraal.

*And so with war and women, life passed in happy fashion.* His demeanour was serious, and his expression ferocious, though he acquired an aristocratic *hauteur* truly striking. He showed curiosity in a dignified manner. He rarely indulged in vulgar laughter, and smiling was hardly possible on a face which could only be called fiendish.

He passed some twenty years in this manner. At last his father was found to be on the point of death, and he was sent for. Shortly after his arrival, the old man succumbed.

EAR ORNAMENTS, MARRIED WOMAN.

It was not thought necessary to recognise this common-place occurrence in any way whatever, and therefore Moran lost no time in picking up the corpse and throwing it outside the kraal. Next morning, he smiled grimly as on going out, he kicked aside some freshly-picked bones, and glanced at some disgusting hyenas slinking away, in company with marabout storks, while vultures flapped grossly overhead.

He was now sole heir of his father's herds, for his younger brothers did not receive a single head of cattle, though they had captured in their raids considerable numbers of them. Any they might secure now, however, would be their own property. Moran decidedly preferred the free and easy life of the warrior's kraal, but, alas! he discovered, not that he was

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12



885 becoming bald or developing grey hairs, but that he could not take the regulation dose of purgative as formerly. From this, coupled with the fact that he could not take such liberties with his stomach, he gathered that he was not quite so strong as formerly. We can imagine how he would curse his luck and look fiendish on discovering this unpalatable truth. There was nothing for it but to marry, and become a staid and respectable member of society. He had sown his wild oats.

583 885 Casting about, he fixed upon a damsel after his heart. The preliminaries having been arranged—the number of bullocks to be paid, &c.—she was sealed to him. Then an [304] operation was performed on the damsel. Recovered from its effects, she had to wait till the calving season, as abundance [302] of milk is an indispensable requisite in the honeymoon. Meanwhile, she allowed her hair to grow till it assumed the [301] appearance of an old shoe-brush clotted up with blacking. Round the head she wore a band of cowries from which depended a number of strings, forming in fact the bridal 585 veil. At last the happy day arrived, and the final seal was 895 put upon the marriage by both parties disposing of their chain earrings, and substituting a double disc of copper wire arranged spirally. The lady also shaved her head, laid aside the garment of the ditto, and clothed herself with two skins, one suspended from the waist the other from the shoulder. Strangest of all, however, and strikingly indicative of the fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, Moran had actually to wear the garment of a ditto for one month. Just imagine what fun it would be in this staid and dignified country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honeymoon in a cast-off suit of his wife's maiden clothes. What our friend's feelings were in this guise, I do not know, and this veracious chronicle does not admit of conjecture.

837 885 [842] And now Moran's sole idea was to rear a brood of young cattle-lifters, and so that he got them, he was not very particular as to the manner of it. He was not jealous, asked no awkward questions, and employed no spies. If a friend should visit him, he was hospitable in a degree not consistent with a high level of morality. We shall here prudently follow his example of non-inquisitiveness; for we might find that the domestic affairs of our friend's household will not bear a too curious scrutiny.

885 262 He was now wholly a changed being—as indeed who is not when he gets married? His strict rules of diet were

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko



**B. Junior Warriorhood. — circumcision — subdivisions of age — formation of Manyattas — relations between junior and senior warriors — promotion (Unoto).**

881 As in the case of other ceremonies, it is not the details but the wider significance of the operation which claims our attention. The first most 304 important point is that circumcision is the visible sign of admittance to 561 full membership of the tribe, and that anyone desirous of becoming a "Masai" must be operated upon. After admittance there are many ceremonies of promotion but it is not essential that every member of the tribe should attend; it is essential, however, that he should be circumcised. Prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to. Further, the moran, whose perquisite the mature girls are, deny the youths' access to their girls. Consequently circumcision and its attendant ceremonies admit the youths to a full sex life.

881 Hollis states that circumcision usually takes place between the ages 304 of 13 and 17, though orphans and the children of poor parents frequently 428 wait until they are twenty. My own observations would indicate that 561 16 or 17 is the lower limit, except in the case of youths whose fathers have died, who want to be in a position to inherit. The existence of this latter custom, circumcision to permit inheritance, is a good example of the meaning of the ceremony. If it has not been performed, the youth whose father dies cannot inherit; the cattle, wives, etc., must all be taken over by a paternal uncle as guardian pending the circumcision of the eldest male child. But if permission can be obtained for his circumcision a youth of ten or twelve can assume control of a boma, to the exclusion of all other relatives. In other words, as stated above, circumcision is the mark of full membership of the tribe.

561 When the initiation of a new age has been sanctioned circumcision takes place singly or in groups of two or three in the father's boma. The ceremony is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty amongst the Masai, and is suspended during the dry season. Four successive years are taken up with the circumcision of an age, and it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation. They are, for the first batch, *il Changen opirr* or *il Kiperen*, followed by *il Paringotwalang*, *il Kirimbot* and finally *il Tareto*. The above refers to a right hand age; a left hand age, being fewer in number, possesses only the three last-mentioned divisions.

561 When all of one age have been circumcised they divide themselves 621 into companies (*isirit*) each of which forms a warrior village or barracks (*emanyatta*). In Tanganyika the manyattas are usually formed on a territorial or sectional basis, e.g. Engasumet, Olmolog, Mferegi (areas) or Selei, Purku, etc. (sections), though Whitehouse describes a ceremony whereby the warriors, presumably of one area, divide themselves up, frequently on a clan basis.

(Common Trees and Wood Plants of Kenya Colony) gives the Masai name of *F. Hochstetteri* as 'Ol-edeti' and identifies 'Ol-retel' (the name used by my informants) with a small tree growing on highland forest edges called *Maesa lanceolata* Forsk. [302] [824]

(v) Fat, sheep fat for preference, but otherwise the best bovine rib fat. [237] [386]

(vi) Red ochre (*ol Karia*).

(vii) Ornaments, usually comprising a metal clasp, wire bangles usually strung with coloured beads (*engiok*) and double-lobed copper weights (*esekerwa*). [301]

The method is as follows: The hair is grown until it hangs on the shoulders, that is, about nine inches long. This it does naturally and only in exceptional cases has to be eked out with cow hair. During the growing period the hair usually remains in a mop, but occasionally is braided into short pigtails.

As soon as the necessary length has been reached, the hair is parted transversely across the top of the head, that is at right angles to the European fashion. The largest portion, that at the back of the parting, is painstakingly twisted by hand into braided strands which are then grouped round the end of the 'siteti' stick or sticks (according to the number of pigtails to be worn) and lashed on with the gut string. The stick and hair ends are then bound neatly with the sheep skin strip so as to taper to a point.

The hair in front of the parting is divided into three equal portions and braided. The ends of each portion are bound together with gut string. The two side pieces which fall in front of each ear are then tied together by a cord under the chin, tight enough to hold them flat against the face. The central forelock' is finished off with a metal clasp.

If the warrior wishes to wear the ultra-smart 'helmet' style, the single pigtail is brought forward over the top of the head and its tip bound to the tip of the 'forelock' but as the pigtail stick is pliant and would therefore pull the forelock up, the latter is bound down by a further cord, passing across the forehead and tied at either end to the tips of the 'side-locks', which as we have already seen are firmly tied down to the face by the chin cord. As soon as the pigtail is securely fastened in the ridge position, the whole coiffeur is liberally coated with fat, tinted with red-ochre, and the 'helmet' effect is complete. [237] [386]

The wire bangles with coloured beads pass through the top of the ear, and the copper weights are of course suspended from the earlobes, which have been carefully lengthened during many years of youth — initially by the insertion of wooden plugs. In extreme cases the ear lobe has been so stretched that if it is desired to get it out of the way, it can be hitched right over the crown of the head onto the opposite ear! 301 304

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya



particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child can run about a *small* ram is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by them (*and not by any men*). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named sons of his own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'"

*Teeth Extraction.*—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk-teeth the two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed.

*Ear Piercing.*—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. Ears are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

*Games.*—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

*Clothing.*—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, and the boys have small sandals made for them.

*Food.*—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown.

## PART II.—BOYHOOD.

*Herding.*—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to start preparing for initiation.

*Sex Life.*—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan,

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya



881 As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circumcision. He is then fetched back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his mother, and has new sandals and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four rams sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new ram-skin dress and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A fat ram is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and on plain cold fat, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

881 *The Novitiate.*—The period of novicehood varies in length of time, as a boy 561 must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses between the time of the bull-seizing ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that fresh candidates have just been circumcised, and enlisting them in their groups. During the whole novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only plain fat on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya



from having the honour of the feast of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this heifer is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (*see* Marriage).

*Girls' Initiation.*—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the warriors or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a *manyatta* with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the *manyatta*, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A ram called *olekelnjatha* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "ram for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. This ram is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of clitoridectomy, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl to "cleanse her of the blood spilt" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *oletuguet*. Next a ram is killed called *olkelelartat* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence.

*Shaving Ceremony.*—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *olbarnet*, which is the "ram for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother.

## PART V.—MARRIAGE.

*Exogamy.*—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No one, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married may, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (*see* below).

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband.

*Betrothal.*—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal:—

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.

(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya



684 *Boyhood. Sex Life.*—In past times uncircumcised boys were severely punished by the warriors if they had sexual intercourse with a girl of any sort. This is no [178] [248] longer the case, probably because the warriors are afraid of Government interference should they ill-treat the boys.

Should an uncircumcised boy have intercourse with a married woman he may, when his time comes to be circumcised, fail to find an elder who will sit behind him [304] according to custom and hold him during the operation, but may have to sit unsupported. In an instance which I observed a boy who had so offended was circumcised in due form on payment of a fine of four oxen.

881 561 The elders who decide when a new circumcision is to take place are those of the *Ol-Piron* generation to that which is about to be circumcised.

*Ol-Piron* means a firestick, and its significance is explained below under organization of generations and ages.

*Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.*—The Masai call this ceremony *Emboloat o ol-Giteng*, which means the tearing of the ox. *Ol-Giteng* is the general word for an ox and is not confined to the one used at the ceremony. It must be performed first by the Il Kakonyuki section. I have not seen it performed.

881 *Circumcision.*—I will endeavour to describe a circumcision as I saw it. On my arrival a few minutes before sunrise the two boys who were candidates were standing naked and shivering outside one of the village gates. They had previously been completely shaved. An old man poured a little water over each from a pannikin. Ox hides were brought out and each boy sat on one. Each boy was held by an elder sitting behind him. They were just outside the village with their backs to the thorn fence which encircles the village. The operator appeared and circum- [304] [413] cised each in turn. He was a Kikuyu and performed the operation with a dirty-looking razor of a type made in Birmingham or Germany.

As soon as the operation was finished new sandals were put on the boy's feet by the elders; and the elder who was sitting behind him stood up, still holding him, and walked him off backwards through the village gate.

As soon as both boys had been circumcised the operator rushed off to repeat the performance at a village near by before the sun was high. I went back into the village with the elders. One of them drew blood from the neck of an ox for one of the candidates. We went into the hut of the mother of one of the candidates, where [293] the boy sat silent on a bed while we elders refreshed ourselves with honey wine. The boy is not allowed to speak for a period after the ceremony, but I have forgotten the length of the period.

A branch of a tree is tied to the front of the boy's mother's hut by leather thongs passed through the wall.

561 178 *The Novitiate.*—Nowadays the novices do not need to remain in this stage till all the other candidates have been circumcised, but shave after a few months. They

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai



In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as " Njemps Kubwa " and " Njemps Ndogo " in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the " free-love " system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[13] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[13] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[14]

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

### Social Organization

*Life Cycle*

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[15] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murrani*, " one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[12] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–55.
[13] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, " The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 138–40.
[14] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.
[15] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

13;Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12



and three old men. If it has not previously received a name, it may have been called by the name of its father's father; but at the naming ceremony it receives a name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative. People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities. There is much uncertainty about Masai names; but every man has a patronymic, consisting of *O-le*, " son of," preceding his father's name; this he appears to assume after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *E-na*, " daughter of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new name. The practice of tecnonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of his eldest son, a man becomes known as " the father of " So-and-so, i.e., if his son is called Sendeu, he becomes Menye Sendeu; his wife similarly becomes Ŋoto Sendeu, the mother of Sendeu.

The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a man called Ol-onana, " the gentle one," died, on his death the word *nana* would be replaced in his family by some such word as *polpol*, " smooth."

*Circumcision (E-murrata)*

Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and the circumcision period is " open " for about four years. Though the operation may be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circumcised at the same time throughout Masailand forms an associating group corresponding in some degree to the Nandi *mat* (see pp. 31 and 49). Judging by the published accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called *em-polosata e-sita*, " the passing of the fence." After making honey-wine, he stays alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes and become an old man. His son may then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate; in the afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy cuts a tree called at this time *e-latim*,[21] which the girls of the kraal carry to the door of the hut [in which the boy sleeps?], where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early and sits outside to get cold; after sunrise he is circumcised, the operator being often a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes out, shooting with blocked arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered: during this time he is known as *o-sipolioi* and wears the dress of a married woman, including the *i-surutia* ear-rings, and an ostrich-feather on his head. After recovery he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *ol-barnoti*, " the shaved one," i.e., a junior warrior. Till his local company forms its *manyata*, he lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There are no special times for this. An ox or sheep is killed before the operation. During the period of recovery they are known as *e-sipolioi*, and wear on their heads a wreath of the Hyphæne palm, *ol-merisian*, or of grass, instead of an ostrich feather.

*Age-sets*

Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1854), Hollis (1905), and Fosbrooke (1948), as well as from the Taveta age-sets (Hollis, 1901), that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1939 the names Il-Kisalie

[21] *Zizyphus mucronata*; normally called *ol-vilalei*.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12



Warriors do their hair in pigtails, *ol-taika;* other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrized patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes.

*Iron-work*

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and *e-rrap* arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsikis, Keyo, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Kikuyu have imitated them.

*Other Objects*

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 34*b* is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums.

## Ritual and Beliefs

*Religion*

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (said also of the Suk); but the alleged belief that the soul of a laibon or rich man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs careful investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, the laibon who died *c.* 1890; thus Thomson heard the Il-Aikipiak praying to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mbatiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany. The "minor deity called Neiterkob" which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Neiterukob, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *naiterukop* means no more than "that which began the earth," and thus would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-apa*, the moon, is grammatically masculine.

*Death and Burial*

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The

| | |
|---|---|
| 231 | 613 |
| 233 | 614 |
| 262 | 643 |
| 304 | 721 |
| 411 | 754 |
| 524 | 759 |
| 564 | 802 |
| 595 | 805 |

[For mythological accounts of the origin of:

| | |
|---|---|
| livestock and dogs | see category 539, p. 359 |
| honey as a source of food | 360 |
| board game | 361 |
| club carved of wood | 362 |
| blood as a source of food | 362 |
| blacksmiths | 364 |
| clans and lineages | 368-369 |
| counting and number words | 370 |
| 7-day week | 376 |
| polygamy | 377 |
| ol oiboni and chief | 377 |
| circumcision | 382 |
| double-edged knife | 382 |
| sorcerers | 382 |
| physicians | 362 |
| mandate for war on non- Masai | 382-383.] |

D 197 /15 cont./ the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

D M 771 304 619 [197] 174 612 [844] [976] The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the L aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

D M 614 613 If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people; the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborōn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613 Every tribe (en gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

/62 cont./
881 in a long leather apron reaching to the feet (ol gelá, el geláni),
[292] which his mother has made for him for this purpose. On the following day all the boys to be circumcised appear before sunrise at a place in the vicinity of a kraal, chosen by the three or four operators needed each time. The warriors also assemble there at the same time in order to be present at the operation. Since the latter is very painful, the coolest part of the day is chosen. The boys pour cold water over each other, in order to become numb. The operation,
[752] [887] which is professionally performed by old men, especially Wandorobo, is the following /the following paragraph has been translated from the Latin of the original source/:

881 304 After the outer skin of the penis has been drawn back and the inner lamella of the foreskin nearest the back of the glans has been cut around with a knife, the glans lies in an elongated sheath, which is then cut on top so that the glans passes through. Half of the skin that thus hangs far down below the glans is removed, and the rest grows together within 14 days and, after healing, looks like an uvula (1).

1. The following should also be mentioned here /the rest of the footnote has been translated from the Latin/: In order to look cut (circumcised), boys sometimes smear the glans with the juice of an herb of the genus Euphorbia, called "ol jugi." The swelling glans prevents the foreskin from sliding forward.

[412] /63/ A finger-long, pointed, and double-edged knife serves as instrument. During the operation the boy sits with legs apart on the leather apron spread out on the ground. After it, the wounded part
[752] is washed with milk, which, caught in the apron together with the blood lost, is carried by the circumcised boy, who strides backwards for this, into his mother's hut and is poured on the ground there. An
[866] agent to stanch the blood is not used. During the circumcision
[626] itself the parents of the boy remain in their hut, for if the latter moans or cries out from the pain, they are punished with abusive

881 /63 cont./
[304] words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not
[866] rear their son to have the hardening and self-control necessary for
[626] a warrior, while the weakling is reviled for a long time afterwards as ebíryo = coward, or tóróno = the bad one. After the circumcision all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are [872] regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the ones just circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs (Juniperus procera). The festival is called ol ogór l el aijok amerâte, [252] that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)
[262]
[261]

1. I once observed that my four Masai boys together at an evening meal ate over 80 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take [522] some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to [521] want to outshout the others. The warriors boast of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the ones circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich booty with which 881 the budding warriors will augment the paternal herds. Suddenly the 626 glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward 152 a distant hut at whose door a solitary old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expression on their faces matches their rough and abruptly uttered invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jeeringly compare to the roar of pain of a bull being cut. The old man has quickly fled from their imprecations into his hut, and his attackers vent their wrath on two gourd bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and

/66 cont./

881 place, they wait until that day. Shared pain is half the pain, and a certain coyness is part of good breeding among the brown Masai maidens too. The circumcision of boys and girls on one day takes place at different spots, and, while no female creature may come near the boys' place, so too no man or boy may enter the hut where, in the presence of her mother, the daughter is circumcised. On the day before the latter's head has been shaved and her hair tossed under the skin of the bed. She has removed all her ornaments and has clothed herself with a long apron (ol gĕla, el gelani), which her mother has made. The latter is now trying /67/ to make the parts coming into question numb

Jos. Deeg phot.

Ill. 20. Half-grown Masai girl.

with cold water and, during this, encouraging her little daughter sitting on the ground with beating heart. The operation is a simple excision of the clitoris and is performed with a sharpened piece of sheet iron (ol moronja) such as is used to shave the head. Then the small wound is washed with milk, which, together with the blood shed, seeps into the ground. A blood-stanching agent is not used here either. Until complete healing the girl remains, as es siboli (pl. es sibolio), in the hut of her mother. Instead of the bird skins and ostrich feathers that the boys put on, she wears around her forehead a ring plaited out

/141 cont./

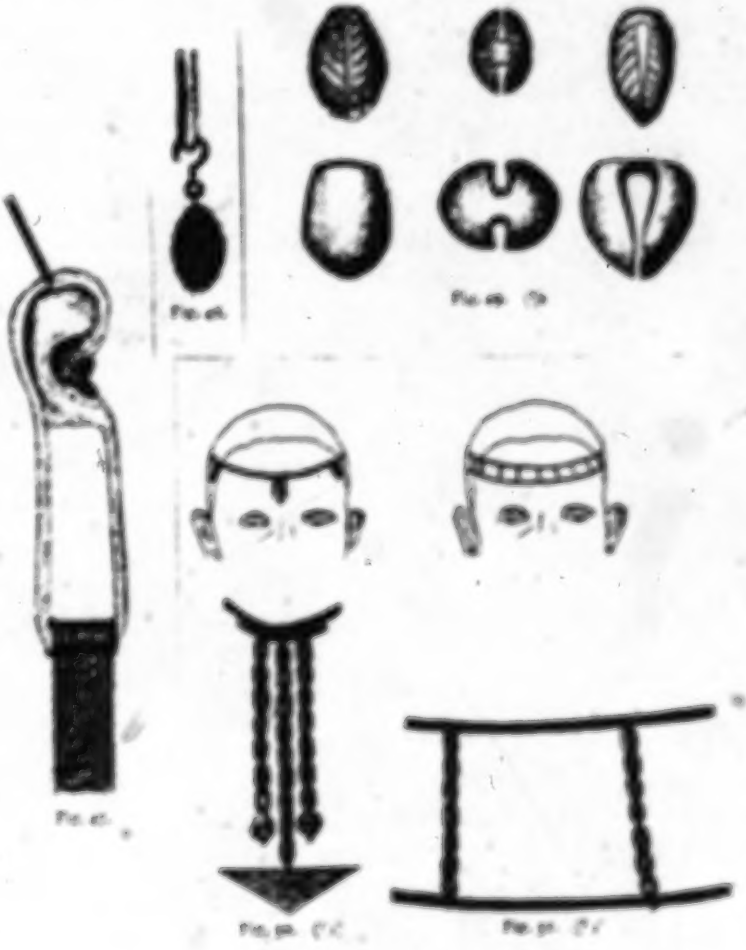
301 In order to make the ears suitable for holding ornaments, their
304 lobes are pierced in early childhood with a strong acacia thorn and distended by the insertion of longer and longer wooden plugs. The
[824] plugs (Figs. 43 a and b) are mostly made out of the wood of the
[531] eń gadardar tree (Ochna Merkeri Gilg), often quite beautifully marked. The weight of the ornaments enlarges the holes still more, so that they often hang down extended ten centimeters. At the same time the upper edge of the ear is also pierced in one or two places.
301 In these the women wear bunches of four to eight small chains to 20
[237] centimeters long (Fig. 44); the men wear just as many ol oimér
[136] (sing. ol oiméri), a clock-key--shaped ornament made out of tin (Figs. 45 a and c) or out of brass wire (Fig. 45 b), often also a pess on a wire ring, a polished mussel shell, which ornament /142/ is called eń jili (n jil) (Fig. 46), or a wooden stick 15 centimeters long (ol beniét, el beniéta [Fig. 47, upper part]), or a quill of the porcupine (olaiai or olai, Hystrix africae-australis). Around the lower part of the enlarged ring of skin of the ear lobe the men wear a tube four centimeters long (ol giseól, el giseo [Fig. 47]), wound out of thin iron wire, /Figs. 47-51 appear here/ whose end coils are wrapped with copper wire, while on the rest of the coils usually hang small chains 6 to 20 centimeters long (ol bisiál, el bisia). If these are only short, they are as a rule glued together with red paint (Fig. 48). In place of this ornament one also often sees an oval,
[824] perforated tin disk (eń goboiál, ń gobóia) and other things, or a nut-shaped ornament that /143/ is carved out of the nut of the Hyphaena palm (Fig. 49). Married women and old men wear, tied in the ear lobes with a thin strap, the large double spirals (e (e surudiai, surudia) made out of thick brass wire. They are supported by a leather strap put over the crown of the head, since, because of their great weight, the ear lobe is unable to do so. It is
[531] regarded as particularly beautiful if they are further decorated with a leather band sewed across them and stitched with four rows of small beads, on which hangs a row of small chains. This decoration, which, incidentally, is found only among women, is called ol
[535] giriéngata. For dancing, young girls often wear a string of beads (Fig. 50) around the forehead and occiput, or two strings of beads lying one above the other an inch apart (Fig. 51), which are joined, ladderlike, with small chains. The ornament is called er nárusie.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 189]

Ida Beecher--100 (1000-ca.1910) 1910 FILE Memo FILE

/Illustrations from p. 148 of the original source./

301



[304]

/111 cont./

302 with fresh blood. The juice is so caustic that it burns the skin, and
[304] the latter, after two days, may be pulled off, so that the design
remains visible as a white scar, which often, however, already
304 after eight to ten days, has become pigmented again. There are no
[312] tattoo-ings as marks of distinction; rather they serve only as beautification and consist of larger or smaller incisions lined up in figures,

Fig. 70a. Fig. 70b. Fig. 70c.

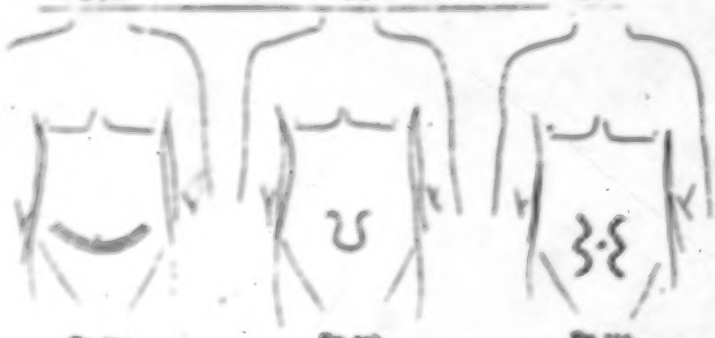


Fig. 71a. Fig. 71b. Fig. 71c.

which are made with the razor. Nothing is rubbed into the incision. The most common ornamental scars of the men are found on the deltoid muscle (Fig. 70 a, b, c) and have a horseshoe shape (e rab, e rabit). Have rarely among men one sees tattooing on the abdomen (Figure 71 a and b), which, on the other hand, is quite common among women (Fig. 72 a to k). The lyre shape in different variations is the most common. Abdomen tattooing is called ol kigenete

/151 cont./

• 304 [412] (el kigerot). The tattooing is done by its wearer himself, a man with the small, double-edged knife (ol alem), a woman with the ol moronja. With a hook-shaped thorn /152/ the place in which the incision is to be made is drawn up, and then the roll arising through this is cut into in tempo.

Fig. 71d.

Fig. 71e.

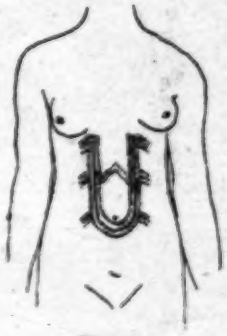


Fig. 72a.

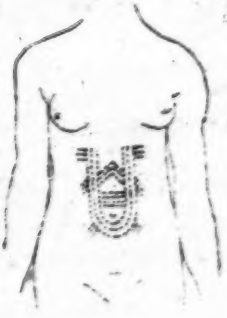


Fig. 72b.

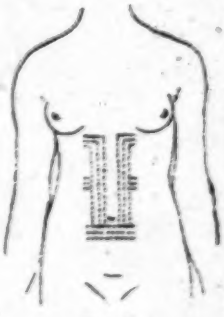


Fig. 72c.

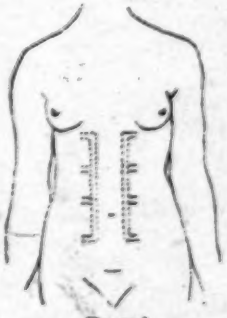


Fig. 72d.

/152 cont./

• 304

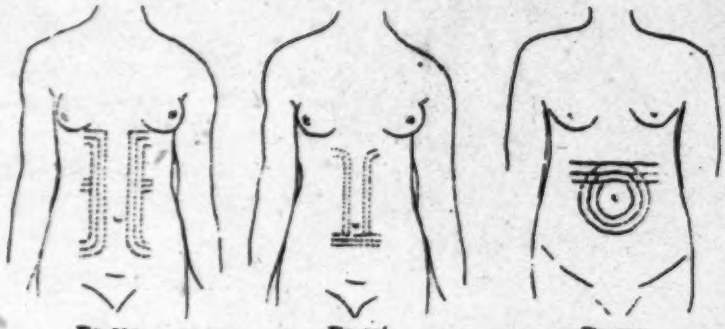


Fig. 72e. Fig. 72f. Fig. 72g.

The two middle lower incisors of boys and girls are loosened by pressure with a knife and then removed with the hand, /153/ and, to be sure, either in childhood or also in connection with the change of teeth. Most often given as the reason for this was "so that in drinking milk and honey beer one can spit in a long stream through the gap in the teeth (em buátá)," which is part of good breeding. This is, of course, not the real reason, this rather seems to have

[514] [516]

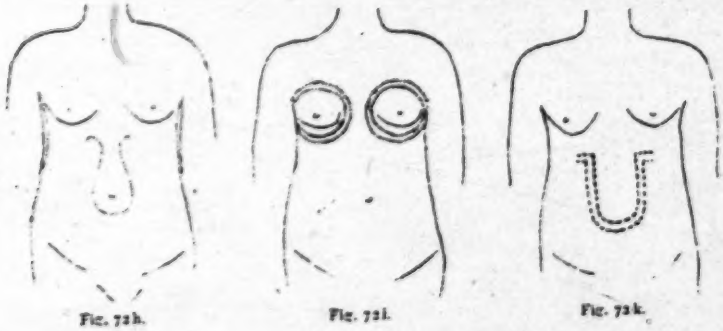


Fig. 72h. Fig. 72i. Fig. 72k.

fallen into oblivion. Fingernails are worn rather long and, if they become too long, are bitten off, not cut off. The pieces bitten off are thrown away. The toenails are not cut; they wear off sufficiently in walking, etc.

302

*539 *773 *171 *121

/329 cont./
a cloud: in both instances in which he appears to Marumi, and further in the many others which the Bible reports in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 16, 10; 2nd Moses 19, 9; 2nd Moses 34, 5, and 4th Moses /Numbers/ 11, 25.

## Circumcision

*539 *773 *171 *121 • 304

According to the myth of the Masai, God commanded them to circumcise boys and girls and sent them this command through Marumi.

God said: "The Masai shall circumcise the children." According to Genesis 17, circumcision is a sign of the covenant between God and the people of Israel, which means, first of all, that God's command for circumcision is given only for the Israelites, not for other peoples, through which circumcision became a tribal symbol for Israel. It is such, however, even today among the Masai, in contrast to the many other peoples who observe the custom of circumcision, and, to be sure, not only in the opinion of the people, but also in reality, because the Masai are the only people (1)

1. This form of circumcision is also found in only one lineage of the Semite Tatoga people.

with this peculiar form of boy circumcision.

Now we know, however -- and I shall come back to this -- of a series of older Semite peoples, that is, driven out of Arabia earlier, that they likewise practiced the circumcision of boys. This raises the question: how was it possible that the Israelites, and, to be sure, even in their oldest myths, regarded circumcision quite common in Arabia at that time -- so it seems -- expressly as their tribal symbol? Might it perhaps be possible that they originally had the Masai form of circumcision and later exchanged it for the simple circumcision for political or other reasons, just as at the time of the Makkabäer /Maccabees/ (I. Makk. 1, 16) they tried to feign to their opponents the presence of a foreskin, a procedure that, as far as I know, no other people ever used for practical reasons? At any rate,

/329 cont./

political and economic interests, for example, at the time the Israelites became sedentary, incomparably more important than at the time of the Makkabäer /Maccabees/ /330/ probably argued for the usefulness of a change in the form of circumcision. The objection that the Jews in the second century B. C., as a civilized people, were considerably more adaptable than they were as a primitive people becoming sedentary can be countered in that circumcision was also of much greater national and religious significance in the later period than at that time.

Now, however, what does the Bible say? First of all, it contains nothing that might make one conclude that the Israelites had not practiced circumcision during their sojourn in Egypt (1).

1. The passage in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 4, 24-26 can not be taken into consideration here, since its content belongs to the myth: compare the previous section, "Moses-Marumi."

On the other hand, in view of the great significance of this operation, we must assume that any omission of it would have been expressly handed down. Now in the fifth chapter of Josua /Joshua/, the part (Verses 2 and 3) consisting of a combination of the Jahve /Yahwist/ and Elohim documents reports from the period immediately after the crossing of the Jordan: "At that time Jahve /Yahweh/ said unto Josua /Joahua/: make thee stone knives and circumcise again the sons of Israel for the second time. And Josua made him stone knives and circumcised the sons of Israel at the hill of Araloth (2).

2. = at the hill of the foreskins.

(Verses 8 and 9): When now the whole people had been completely circumcised, they remained in their places in the camp, until they had recovered. And Jahve said to Josua: This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you." Verses 4-7 are not to be considered in this connection, for they stem from a later editor,

/330 cont./

*539 *793 *171 *121 304 and the accuracy of their content, according to which the Israelites omitted circumcision during their passage through the wilderness, is more than doubtful, because first no older author reports it, and then also nowhere has a corresponding divine command been handed down -- as one would have to expect.

"And Jahve said to Josua: This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you." What does it mean: the reproach of Egypt? I understand these words this way: Today I have taken from you what in Egypt, i.e., by the Egyptians, was regarded as a reproach to you. Now what could have been so regarded there for the Israelites in connection with the circumcision of male individuals? Certainly not circumcision itself, for in Egypt this was a privilege of the priestly and warrior caste. But since it was neither noncircumcision nor circumcision that brought about a reproach to the Israelites, provoked scorn among the Egyptians, it could very well have been another form of circumcision! But if this was the one still customary among the Masai today, the words of the second verse, "and circumcise again the sons of Israel for the second time" (3),

> 3. A pleonasm otherwise never recurring in the whole Old Testament in this form: literally more accurately, according to the Hebrais text, the passage says: "Return again to circumcise the sons of Israel for the second time."

become intelligible without artful interpretation, for by means of a second operation, by /331/ cutting off the part of the prepuce appearing among the Masai like a pendulous uvula, a condition that looks like simple circumcision is achieved.

The Masai and Israelites meet again in the motive for circumcision. Through the fact that God handed over to Marumi, along with the command for circumcision, the instruments necessary for the operation in question as well as decreeing the use of the knife serving for the circumcision of the girls also for the cutting of the umbilical cord of the newborn child, and, in connection with that, handed him the loin belt for the woman in childbed, there is shown

/331 cont./

*539 *773 *171 *121 • 304 as the closest association of ideas: circumcision -- conception -- birth. Therefore circumcision is regarded here as a means, even though not necessary for conception, nevertheless desirable for it and promoting it. We find the same thought in the Bible, where God, in Gen. 17, 6, when he announces to the 99-year-old, childless Abraham the sign of the covenant, i.e., circumcision, says: "And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee."

According to the preceding, the circumcision of boys seems to owe its origin to the view that it increases the procreative ability of the man. Quod judicium positum est in experientia, virum membro circumciso coire longius, feminam magis irritari. Viri membro non circumciso coëuntis seminis ejaculatio acceleratur, saepe nimis, priusquam feminae voluptas venerea culmen ascenderet. Membro circumciso seminis ejaculatio retardatur et cum voluptatis venereae culmine congruit, quod ad conceptionem efficiendam faustum est. /It is a judgment based on experience that a man with a circumcised organ has intercourse longer, and excites the woman more. The ejaculation of semen of a man having intercourse with an uncircumcised organ is speeded up, sometimes too much, before the sexual pleasure of the woman reaches a climax. When the organ has been circumcised, the ejaculation of semen is slowed down and coincides with the climax of sexual pleasure, which is favorable to bringing about conception./ This leads to the conjecture that the lawgiver who introduced the circumcision of boys was acting with the intention of promoting conception and along with that increasing the number of births, i.e., multiplying the people. Circumcision [881] became a preparation for marriage and, accordingly, is still carried out by the Masai, as among other primitive peoples, only after the onset of puberty. A later age made it a tribal symbol for the Israelites and Masai and, as such, moved it among the former to [186] earliest childhood. Through the belief -- strong in Israel as well as among the Masai -- in the divine favor before other peoples, the tribal symbol then became a visible sign of this, from which is derived the explanation of circumcision as a symbol of religious

*539 *773 *171 *121 *304 [186]

/331 cont./
purity (1).

1. That circumcision among the Israelites -- as is assumed -- attained religious significance only during the Exile is refuted, it seems to me, by the use of the stone knife in earliest times.

as the Bible often designates it.

Circumcision certainly does not owe its origin to considerations of cleanliness -- as one so often hears -- since the desire for cleanliness could be satisfied more simply in other ways and without an operation not always entirely safe. Furthermore, we also find this custom preferred precisely among those peoples who certainly do not attach any particular value to cleanliness. Moreover, however, I also doubt that /332/ the utility of circumcision in the matter of cleanliness is actually so great, for among the only very scantily clad primitive peoples the part in question is so much more exposed to the effect of dust, etc. and injury by thorns, spiny leaves, blossoms, and grasses than it would be otherwise.

[581] The circumcision of girls among primitive peoples may also be interpreted as a preparation for marriage. Among the Masai, besides the point in time at which it is undertaken, the way of life of the girls before and after the operation argues in favor of this. Clitoride excisa libido diminuitur et cohabitandi cupiditas retinetur. /Clitoridean excision lessens desire and, in cohabiting, restrains passion./ This [843] has, in the opinion of the people, great advantages for the growing [853] and suckling child, as is also shown by the continence rules of the Masai during pregnancy and the suckling period.

As we know, the Bible knows of no circumcision of the girls. That such was customary in Egypt, however, even during the oldest Biblical period, is taught by the 15th of the British papyri, in which there is mention of the circumcision of the girl Tatemi, the daughter of Nefori of Memphis. Here, too, the girls were circumcised at the age of puberty (1).

1. Ploss, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der

/332 cont./

*539 *773 *171 *121 • 304

/footnote 1 continued/ Völker /The Child in the Habits and Customs of Peoples/."

The question has been raised as to whether the Israelites might not have perhaps taken over circumcision from the Egyptians, and a conjecture affirming this is supported by the Biblical statement according to which Abraham set out uncircumcised for Egypt, where he must have learned of the circumcision laws existing there for priests and warriors, and further by the passage in Gen. 17, according to which, on the same day, he undertook the circumcision of himself and of Ismael /Ishmael/, the son conceived by him with the Egyptian slave woman Hagar. This surmise would indeed not be entirely unfounded if Abraham were a historical personality and the events associated with his name were historical happenings. But since Abraham belongs to the myth (2),

> 2. That is, the Abraham who, according to Genesis, is given the command for circumcision; the figure of the Biblical Abraham seems to be based on a mythical and a historical person.

it is nothing but an idle speculation, which is not even supported by the fact that it might have been intentionally constructed by the author of the Biblical myth to be understood in this sense.

*121 The deeper and more extensively ethnology goes into primitive peoples, the more clearly we see, first, that a closer or more distant relationship in race also corresponds to such in the mental life and its manifestations, and, moreover, that these peoples, despite centuries of proximity with others, show no tendency to make the latter's ethnographic traits their own if not violently forced by them to do so. Therefore, where it can not be positively proved that one people has adopted from another a custom deeply entrenched in folk life, or that this custom /333/ is foreign in the milieu surrounding it, one will have to assume for the correspondence in the ethnography the same cause as for the commonality of race, namely, a common

/333 cont./

*121 original homeland, which, as is still most clearly recognizable among primitive peoples, has marked not only the somatic charteristics, but also the psyche of the people.

*121 Now, what is the situation with regard to the racial relationship
•304 of the most ancient peoples whom we know practiced circumcision?
174 It has been determined that the tribes related to the Israelites, the Ammonites, Edomites, and Moabites, as well as the Arab tribes of the northern part of the peninsula, also observed the custom of circumcision (1).

1. According to Ploss, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker /The Child in the Habits and Customs of Peoples/."

We know further that the Egyptians and Babylonians practiced circumcision, and finally we now also know that all these peoples either were pure Semites or the Semitic element was very strongly predominant in them.

Now this by no means is to say, however, that circumcision was originally peculiar to all the Semites (2)

2. I found, for example, that a lineage of the Tatoga, frequently mentioned in these pages, does not practice circumcision. Besides, we know that in Egypt the common people were not circumcised.

and only to them; on the contrary, it seems foolish to try to answer the question as to the time and place of the origin of this custom, which also exists among so many non-Semitic peoples. Most probably it may indeed be that circumcision stems from a time whose history we attempt to patch together out of the finds of skeletal remains, etc. If, on the basis of the ancient Israelitish command that circumcision is to be performed with a stone knife, we may conclude that it originated in the Stone Age, one might suspect an even earlier period on the basis of the interdict that rejects the use of the reed splinter for it.

/333 cont./

* 539 *773 *171 *121 • 304 The situation is different with regard to the question whether it was perhaps peculiar to the Semites in general to trace circumcision back to a divine command. We know from the Bible that the Israelites trace it back to this. The law according to which the uncircumcised could not be initiated into the secrets of the temple and of science points to a similar view among the Egyptians. I do not know how the Babylonians thought concerning this point. The Mohammedan and Christian peoples, for obvious reasons, can not be considered in answering the present question. Thus there remain only the peoples of interior Africa who are as yet uninfluenced by Islam and Christianity. Now among these I found both among the Masai and among the Semitic Tatoga people and the Semito-Nigritians of the Iraku area the belief that circumcision was ordered for human beings by God.

* 539 *773 *171 *121 304 413 /334/ Finally, it is still to be pointed out that the tradition of the Masai is also familiar with the use of the reed splinter (os sangasch) for the operation on the human body in prehistoric times. When the angel Ol dirima brought the Masai the ten commandments, it mentioned in the 8th commandment the use of the os sangasch splinter for the cutting of the umbilical cord. Later God prohibits the Masai the use of it, for it is a prohibition when he commands that from now on the ol moronja is to be used for the same purpose. Thus we find here a further parallel between the Israelitish tradition and the tradition of the Masai, for since all of the Israelitish law is made up of commands and prohibitions of God, we may assume that the traditional prohibition of the reed splinter in the myth was based on an expression of divine will (1).

1. The fact that among many Negro peoples too the reed splinter is used to cut the umbilical cord is meaningless for the above question and signifies only that even beyond the wood stage the freshly torn reed splinter was retained as an aseptic instrument for those operations for which it was adequate and suitable. A similar instrument is the tap root of a species of lucerne, pulled out

/334 cont./

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*773
*171
*121
•[804]
[413]

/footnote 1 continued/ of the ground as needed and carefully freed of its rind, which the Wadschagga use as a uterus probe to induce abortion, as I observed on Kilimandscharo.

## The Naming of God

We find a further correspondence in the traditions of the Masai and Israelites in the fact that in the period before the lawgiving, whose epoch is bounded in the Bible by the beginning and end of the works of Moses, God bears a different name than he does afterwards, and that among both peoples the fact of the change of name is handed down by a divine word from this very epoch. 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 6, 2 and 3 reports: "Then God spoke with Moses and said to him: I am Jahve /Yahweh/. I have appeared to Abraham, Isaak /Isaac/, and Jakob /Jacob/ as El Schaddaj (2);

2. I.e., the Almighty.

but I have not revealed myself to them under my name Jahve." And in the tradition of the Masai, the angel Ol dirima speaks at the command of God in the first of the ten commandments: "There is only one God. He has sent me here. Heretofore you called him E'majan (3)

3. = The Forgiving One, the Pardoning One.

or E'magelani (4);

4. = The Almighty.

from now on you shall call him 'Ng ai." It is to be noted especially that the meaning of the names El Schaddaj and E'magelani is the same, the Almighty, and that further E'majan is the Forgiving One, the Pardoning One, an epithet that in the Bible is often applied to God, for example, 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 34, 6, where Jahve calls

/387 cont./

*142 Medium fat. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), cheek somewhat lighter, chest black-brown (42), back of hand black-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 27), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), scrotum black-brown, likewise nipple. Below the navel a tattooing in the form of a flat bow opened toward the top. Color of the iris: black-brown, with dark gray-blue toward the edge. European eye form; palpebral fissure set straight. Hair abundant, curly. Head, from the crown view, rounded, elliptical, moderately rounded at the occiput; from the occipital view, symmetrically rounded. Crown arched. From the side view, the crown lies toward the back; the sinciput is medium high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is broad-oval and shows a scarcely noticeable general prognathism. The chin is vertical. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked. The forehead is high and steep with faintly projecting frontal protuberances. Eyebrow ridges and glabella projecting very little. Nose medium-sized and medium broad; root moderately deepened; bridge slightly convex; tip blunt and directed downward; nostrils oval and set obliquely; alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle incisors of the /388/ upper jaw directed forward and outward, the two middle ones of the lower jaw pried out; otherwise the set of teeth intact. Teeth medium-sized and broad. Ear lobes considerably enlarged. Foot medium-arched; the first toe juts out. Hand slender and long-fingered. Nails large, long, narrow. The legs are sturdy. The shanks show a rachitic curvature, which, according to Nahará's statement, was considerably more pronounced in his childhood and to which he owes his name, which means "crooked leg."

• [504]

/389 cont./

*142 medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails large, long, broad. Legs thin.

No. 5.

Merero, ♂, about 30 years old, born in the steppe south of Lake Naiwascha. Lineage: El bartelēle.

♂ El bartelēle ♀ Masai ♂ El bargenetti ♀ El bedē̱s

♂ Merero.

Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead, cheek, and back of hands black-reddish-brown (27); chest somewhat darker (between 27 and 42); palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (29); scrotum darkest brown-black, likewise nipples. On either side of the navel, line tattooing |~( Color of the iris black-brown with deep blue edge. Palpebral fissure set barely noticeably obliquely. The partly curly, partly spirally rolled hair is present in abundant quantity. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and lies somewhat toward the back. Sinciput moderately high, occiput more strongly arched out. The pointed-oval face shows medium-strong prognathism in profile. Chin projecting. The hair edging of the /390/ forehead is angular-crooked. The forehead high, steep, full-arched, with slightly protruding frontal protuberances. Cheekbones directed backward more. Nose is small, low, broad, root set flat toward the forehead, bridge straight, tip blunt, directed straight out, nostrils oval and longitudinally set; alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. Of the two middle incisors of the upper jaw, the left one is missing

[304]

M
*142 /396 cont./ light-gray--reddish-brown (30). Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2), with slate-blue edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. The curly head-hair is ca. 2 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose large, medium high, somewhat broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge straight; tip medium-pointed and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae almost flat. Lips rather thick. The teeth are large, the front ones long and narrow. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out; gap is 14 mm. wide. The upper middle incisors are set somewhat obliquely forward and outward. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper auricle-edges each pierced twice. Foot medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slender. Nails almost large, long, narrow.
M
• [304] Legs sturdy, straight. On the abdomen around the navel a small tattooing in the form of an ellipse open at the top.

No. 15.

D
142 Katais, ♂, about 35 years old, a native of the steppe area Kisongo, six hours' march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/. Lineage: En gidoñ.

♂ En gidoñ ♀ en doroboni ♂ El bodjus ♀ en doroboni
♂ ♀
♂ Kantais.

Thin. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and chest gray-reddish-brown (29), cheek somewhat darker (between 28 and 29), back of hand /397/ and scrotum very dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), nipples somewhat lighter,

18: Merker--552 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/404 cont./

No. VII.

*142 Nemame. ♀. about 30 years old, a native of Moibo. Lineage: El muingo.

/405/ ♂ El muingo ♀ El mamasita ♂ Es sumaga ♀ Masai

♂ ♀

♀ Nemame.

Medium fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), chest somewhat lighter (28), nipple black-reddish-brown (27), back of hand black-brown (42), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (29). [304] Tattooing on abdomen. Scar from spear thrust on left shoulderblade. Several smaller scars on the back, resulting from beatings. The middle toe of the left foot amputated because of suppurating wound. Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set obliquely and is slit rather narrowly. Head hair shaved. From the crown view, head is rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view is somewhat projecting at the crown and the parietal protuberances. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly projecting. Face is pointed-oval and in profile shows a very slight general prognathism. Zygomata project strongly. Chin is vertical. Hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked, the forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Frontal protuberances project clearly. Laterally the forehead merges into the temporal region with a rather sharp edge. Nose small and broad, at the root flat toward the forehead. Bridge of nose concave, tip blunt and directed straight out. Numerous pockmarks on the nose. Nostrils oblique-oval, alae rather flat. Lips moderately thick. The two lower medial incisors have been pried out, the upper ones are vertical. Otherwise the set of teeth is intact. Teeth are medium-sized. Both ear-lobes considerably stretched. Upper edge of the auricle on both ears pierced twice. These piercings have been torn out on the right ear. The breast is large, pendulous, conical. Areola of the nipples is large and of the color of the nipple, which is medium-sized and projects

/413 cont./

No. XIX.

*142 Terennua, ♀, about 24 years old, a native of Sogonoi. Lineage: El marumai.

♂ El marumai ♀ El mâgesan ♂ El muiñgo ♀ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi

♂ ♀

♀ Terennua.

Fat. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: cheek and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), forehead somewhat lighter (between 28 and 29), back of hand and nipples black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand lighter, gray-reddish-brown (almost 30). Large [304] tattooing on abdomen. Color of the iris: black-brown (1) with bluish lustrous edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, angular to rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Parietal protuberances projecting angularly. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face almost pointed-oval. Profile quite slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead curved almost symmetrically from ear to ear. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose small, high, narrow. Root of nose rather /414/ flat toward the forehead, bridge straight, tip pointed and directed downward, nostrils oblique-oval, alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips thin. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. Teeth medium-sized. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, each of the upper auricle-edges pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, very large, and full. Areola of nipples very large, 9 cm. in diameter. Its color is a glimmer lighter than that of the nipple. The latter is large, broad, and rather flat. Foot medium-arched, the first and second toes jut out equally far. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. On both upper arms numerous horizontal scars from sores that arose from the chafing of the wire ornaments. On the back a larger scar, allegedly the result of a marital quarrel. Terennua has * [163] three children, the youngest of which is about six months old. While she was being measured she kept asking whether she was pretty!

/414 cont./

No. XX.

*142 F Sūsŭa, ♀, about 24 years old, a native of Mōlbo. Lineage: El marumai.

♂ El marumai ♀ El mūgurēre ♂ El maguberia ♀ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi

♂ ♀

♀ Sūsŭa.

Almost fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: cheek and chest almost dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), forehead somewhat darker, back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), nipples a glimmer lighter, palm of hand lighter, gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30). [304] Large tattooing on abdomen. Color of the iris: black-brown (1) with bluish lustrous edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, angular to rounded, egg-shaped with strikingly narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput moderately high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward the forehead. Bridge somewhat concave, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils set obliquely, alae flat. Lips thin. The middle lower incisors have been pried out. Between the corresponding upper ones, which are vertical, there is a natural gap 5 mm. wide. Teeth are rather large and very pretty in shape and color. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarge, the upper edges of the auricles pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, very large and full. Areola of nipples very large, 8 cm. in diameter. Its color is the same as that of the nipple. The latter is large and rather flat. Foot medium-arched. The first and second toes jut out equally far. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Sūsŭa has two children. [163]

/418 cont./

*142 directed upward, nostrils roundish, alae slightly puffed out. Lips moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, the outer ones so ground down that the enamel has almost completely disappeared on the chewing surface. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper edges of the auricles each pierced four times. Breasts pendulous, conical, small, rather flat. Areola of the nipples large. Nipple large, projecting. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Jagós has very many pockmarks on her body. On the right thigh is a bum scar covering half the outside of it. On her back is a beauty scar made by means of the fire twirler (ol birón). Jagós has given birth to three children.

[304]
[327]
*[163]

No. XXVI.

Neńgâ, ♀, about 25 years old, a native of Simanjiro. Lineage: El mamasita.

♂ El mamasita ♀ El moschono ♂ En gidon ♀ El mûleljan

♂ ♀

♀ Neńgâ.

Thin. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead, cheek, palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30), chest somewhat darker (29), /419/ back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), nipples somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28). Color of the iris: black-brown. Palpebral fissure set obliquely, slit wide. Head hair 1 1/2 cm. long and very soft. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with broad front end, strongly projecting at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown arched roof-shaped, lying toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead medium high, steep, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose small, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge almost straight, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils roundish, alae slightly puffed out. Lips moderately thick. The middle lower

/419 cont./

# 142 lost. The grinding down of the lower canines is directed obliquely toward the premolars. Teeth medium-sized, quite broad. The two /420/ ear-lobes are considerably enlarged, the upper edges of the auricles each pierced three times. Breasts pendulous, not from flabbiness, but from weight: very large and very full. Circumference of one breast 35 cm. ! Areola of the nipples has the color of the nipple and a diameter of 4 cm. Nipple large, rather flat. Foot medium-arched. The second toe juts out a trace. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Pockmarks, especially on the face. Nolbaragó has not yet given birth.

* [163]

No. XXVIII.

Naschebba, ♀, about 23 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: 'L eng-adji-nanjugi.

♂ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi ♀ El bartimaro — ♂ El barsigero ♀ Masai

♂ — ♀

♀ Naschebba.

Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and chest gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30), cheek somewhat lighter (still also between 29 and 30), back of hand dark gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), nipples somewhat darker (28), palm of hand and also the iguinal region light gray-reddish-brown (30). On the abdomen large tattooing; numerous pockmarks, especially on the face. Color of the iris: dark gray-yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set obliquely, slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, very moderately rounded at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances project angularly. Crown is arched and lies in the center. Sinciput medium high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Nose small, low, narrow. Root of nose moderately deepened toward

• [304]

/434 cont./

#142 Medium fat. Turns of the soft parts firm. Skin color forehead and cheek gray-reddish-brown (39), chest and nipples dark gray-reddish-brown (38), back of hand almost black-reddish-brown (between 37 and 38), palm of hand light gray-reddish-brown (36). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (3) with slate-blue border, which appears milkily clouded at the edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval, profile slightly prognathous. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, medium high, slightly broad, root of the nose moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge almost straight, tip medium-pointed and directed straight out, nostrils roundish, alae flat. Lips moderately thick. The middle lower incisors have been broken out, the gap is 7 mm. wide. The chewing surfaces of the upper middle incisors, directed a trace forward, run obliquely upward sideways toward the outside. The outer lower incisors have been ground down obliquely toward the center and front, the lower canines obliquely toward the front. The front teeth are large, long, and narrow. Both ear-lobes are considerably enlarged. The upper edge of the auricle on each ear pierced four times. Breasts pendulous, conical, medium-sized. The areola of the nipples has the color of the nipple and is medium-sized. Nipple large, projecting. Foot medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Hand slender, nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy and straight. Large tattooing on the abdomen. Namikonye has given birth to one child. According to her statement, she is at most 35 years old, which, however, does not agree with her appearance. During the examination of her eyes she asserted several times that they are beautiful.

[304] [063]

Ib Meyer-585 C-6 (1905-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6
Ana

M /429 cont./
#142 the set of teeth is splendid, shape and color of the teeth are faultless. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, the upper auricle-edges pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, medium-sized, and not very full. Areola of nipples has the color of the nipple and is large. Nipple large and projecting. Foot medium-arched. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight.
M Large tattooing on the abdomen. On the right thigh, in front, six
• D04 round ornamental burn-scars in a perpendicular line. On the right ear the upper part of the upper auricle-edge has been cut off horizontally. Her mother undertook this disfigurement shortly after the birth, "in order to prevent Semeio from dying at a tender age, like her previous children." On her arms numerous scars of sores from chafing produced by the wire arm-ornaments.

D No. XXXX.
142 Togioni, ♀, about 25 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimanderkare. Lineage: El kibojoni.

♂ El kibojoni ♀ El ndilijan ♂ El muigo ♀ ex dorobo

♂ ♀

♀ Togioni.

Emaciated. Tones of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), chest somewhat darker (28), nipple only slightly darker than chest, back of hand almost black-reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 28). Color of the iris black-brown (1). Palpebral fissure is set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, rather flattened at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face is broad-oval. Profile shows a very slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked; the forehead high, steep, full-arched, with clearly recognizable frontal protuberances.

301 Women and occasionally men wear necklaces of beads. Women have ornate jewelry consisting of rings, beads, beaded bracelets, and wire loops around their [304] neck, wrists and ankles. Both men and women pierce and stretch their ear lobes; the women wear large ear bangles through them and the men use them to carry snuff containers or other articles about the size of a 35 mm film cassette.

411 Spears, simis, and knobkerries and shields may [714] be carried by the men. Elders often carry a long staff [561] instead of a spear. Cooking utensils are simple, some- 415 times consisting of a few pots and pans. Bedding consists [513] of hides, with sometimes a blanket. The gourds mentioned 412 above are always present. When moving from one place to another a pack saddle is used which consists of two large (two by three feet) flat rounded plates made of sticks bound and laced by leather thongs. These are tied above and on either side of the donkeys' backs, giving the appearance of semi-folded wings. Hides, lodgepoles, cooking utensils, and other kit are placed on 443 the donkey's back between these. Trade goods are purchased or traded from small dukas around the edge of the area or more recently from itinerate traders who visit the larger and more accessable bomas in trucks.

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
MASAi FL 12



M 301 322 [304]

EAR-STRETCHER. An oblong block of wood, grooved, and buttoned in the widely-distended ear lobe.

Length, 4¼ inches; width, 1¼ inches; thickness, 1¼ inches.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151339

C 301 322 326

EAR-RINGS. One made of wood, wrapped with copper wire, and having two pendants of iron chain. The other is only a plain piece of horn, shaped for the framework of an ear-ring.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151324

EAR-RING. Of horn, with wrappings of beads, and fringe or tassels of iron chain.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151322

EAR-RING. Made of a quill, cut and bent into a loop at the upper end. At the lower end hangs a pendant of iron wire chain of native manufacture, so fine and neatly made as to resemble machine work.

Wa Chaga tribe; Marhanne district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151325

EAR-RINGS. Coils of iron wire served at the ends with fine copper wire. Fringes of iron chain hang down from the coils. Worn by men.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151323

EAR-RING. Coil of wire, one turn at each end wound with fine copper wire. This coil is worn horizontally and from it depends a fringe of very fine iron chain, each strand spaced off at the top with a blue bead.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151321

EAR-RING. A worn and broken specimen of the same style as the foregoing.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151326

EAR-RING. Wooden ring and fringe of iron chain. Fastened in the ear by means of a stick run through the ring behind the lobe of the ear.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151320

EAR-RING. Staple of horn, to one prong of which is attached an iron chain with amulets of cow's bone. Worn by men.

Wa Chaga tribe; Kahe district; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151327

M 301 [326]

NECKLACE. Made of beads and brass wire on leather base; projecting ornament on the edge of the rim, made of a polished disk of shell; pendant, a fringe of small chains.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151313

NECKLACE. Made of beads of different sizes on a band of leather. Partly fringed with small chains and beads.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151314

C 301 326

NECKLACE. Made of beads, with an iron chain fringe.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151328